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ABSTRACT

The social disengagement theory suggests that older people often do not wish to maintain the same level of immersion in social relations as they did in their earlier years. Following this theory, then, social gerontologists suggest that voluntary mutual withdrawal takes place between the elderly and the rest of society. The present paper uses data from a national sample of Japanese Americans, along with a series of indicators of first-generation Japanese American's social participation (visiting patterns with friends and relatives, interest in political affairs, and membership in voluntary associations) to determine if there is a differential level of social participation by age or sex. The findings of this study suggest that the most common patterns which occur indicate that age is inversely related to social participation. With respect to interest in political affairs and organizational affiliation, the same pattern is true, with women reporting less interest than men. Thus, some support for the social disengagement theory is found. (Author/RLV)

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The Elderly Japanese American:

Aging among the First Generation Immigrants*

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The Elderly Japanese American:

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Abstract

Social gerontologists have focused much attention on Cumming and Henry's (1961) social disengagement theory which suggests that older people often do not wish to maintain the same level of immersion in social relations as in their earlier years. They theorize that a voluntary mutual withdrawal takes place on the part of the elderly and the rest of society. Following this thesis, the present paper examines the relationship between age and social participation. Employing data from a national sample of Japanese Americans, we examine a series of indicators of the Issei's social participation--visiting patterns with friends and relatives, interest in political affairs, and membership in voluntary associations--to determine if there is a differential level of social participation by age or sex. Findings are discussed in light of the theoretical implications of the social disengagement thesis for future research among racial and cultural minorities.

Introduction and Review of the Literature

The social context of aging among racial and cultural minorities is a neglected topic of study in social science. Social gerontology is a relatively new field of study and researchers have focused first upon aging as it affects the majority population. The study of the ethnic aged has until recently been neglected.

While there is now a developing body of literature which examines the social context of aging among racial and cultural minorities, there is yet a paucity of literature on the aging process among Japanese Americans. This may in part be explained by the relatively small numbers of Japanese in the United States. The 1970 Census reports that there are fewer than 600,000 Japanese Americans, of which two-thirds live in Hawaii or the Pacific Coast region. This geographic clustering has served to insulate this ethnic group, and in particular those aged 65 or over, who constitute less than 10% of the total Japanese American population (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973:24).

Thus they are not visible to the majority of Americans and have been less likely to be the subject of funded research. Sue and Kitano (1973) have commented upon the stereotypical view of the Japanese in this country as a model minority; that is, they appear to have achieved socioeconomic success and are not perceived by the majority of Americans as a group that needs public assistance. This may also serve to explain why they have escaped the attention of so many social scientists.

This paper focuses upon the Issei, the immigrant first generation Japanese Americans, who are a unique subgroup within this American minority. It is convenient to divide Japanese Americans into three distinct generations: the Issei who immigrated to this country between 1895 and 1924; their American-born children, the Nisei; and the Sansei, who are children of the Nisei and grandchildren of the Issei (Kitano, 1972). The main thrust of Japanese immigration began around 1900 and ended with the Exclusion Act of 1924. This act effectively cut off any further immigration from Japan, a state of affairs which continued until 1952. This act served, however unintentionally, to define a unique and relatively homogeneous ethnic subgroup.

While there is a developing general social science literature which summarizes research on Japanese Americans (Kitano, 1976; Lyman, 1970, 1977; Petersen, 1971), there are few recent research monographs (Connor, 1977; Kiefer, 1974a; Montero, 1978). Although these works do not specifically focus upon the process and problems of aging among the Issei, they do report upon the socioeconomic status and demographic characteristics of this population. Thus they offer some perspective for placing elderly Japanese Americans in a broader sociohistorical context.

Social gerontologists have focused much attention on Cumming and Henry's (1961) social disengagement theory, which suggests that older people often do not wish to maintain the same level of immersion in social relations as in their earlier years. They theorize that a voluntary mutual withdrawal takes place on the part of the elderly and the rest of society. Following Cumming and Henry's (1961) thesis, this paper examines the relationship between age and social participation. Employing data from a national sample of Japanese Americans, we examine a series of indicators of the Issei's social participation--visiting patterns with friends and relatives, interest in political affairs, and membership in voluntary associations--to determine whether in fact there is a differential level of social participation by age or sex of the elderly.

Method

The Sample. The data for the present study are derived from a sample of 1,047 first-generation Japanese American respondents (the Issei). This sample is part of a larger sociohistorical, three-generational, national study of Japanese Americans conducted by the Japanese American Research Project at UCLA. A complete description of the design of the sample has been described elsewhere (Montero, 1978). Since the design for the larger study serves as the context for the present study, it is outlined briefly below.

One of the early purposes of the study was to sample and to interview surviving members of the first generation (the Issei) on the U. S. mainland, most of whom were becoming quite elderly. In 1963 an attempt was made to list every Issei immigrant still living in the United States, excluding Hawaii and Alaska. The listing was largely derived from Japanese association membership lists and supplemented by lists from Buddhist and Christian churches; it totaled approximately 18,000 persons.

During 1964-1966, interviews with a random sample of listed Issei were carried out by specifically recruited and trained bilingual Japanese American interviewers. With a respondent refusal rate of less than 1%, this yielded a sample of 1,047 Issei. Of these, 45, or 4.3%, were under 60 years of age and were excluded from the present analysis. Our effective sample is thus 1,002 Issei.

Sampling Comparisons. We suspect a sampling bias which is hard to confirm. We believe we have sampled too many Issei respondents who are immersed in organized Japanese American life and too few who are unaffiliated. The bias is inherent in the original Issei listing procedure. Undoubtedly, our original lists of Issei were incomplete, leaving out people who had failed to join an organization. We have, in effect, probably under-sampled peripheral and unaffiliated persons and taken a disproportionate share of the better-educated and better-off. The Japanese immigrant community, however, was one of the most highly organized of immigrant groups (Park & Miller, 1921), and the error is not nearly as great as it would be for some other immigrant nationalities.

The Issei Immigrant: A Brief History

The Japanese came to this country as sojourners; that is, they intended to stay for a time, build a nest-egg, and then return to their homeland (Miyamoto, 1939). Many of the men were younger sons who could not inherit land under Japan's system of primogeniture, and viewed working in the United States as a reasonable way to establish themselves financially (Connor, 1977:64). After several years of hard work their natural inclination was to marry and continue the family line, a matter of considerable importance in Japanese culture. In order to save the expense of going home to marry, or because they lacked the necessary funds to do so, many of the men sent for spouses to join them in this country. Often the couples knew of each other only through letters and photographs, and the wives in these arranged marriages came to be known as picture brides (Gee, 1976; Levine & Montero, 1973). In most cases, there was a substantial age difference between the two partners, and the typical immigrant Japanese family consisted of a middle-aged man with a young wife and small children. This arrangement encouraged the

established pattern of traditional Japanese culture which bestowed prestige and authority upon older men. Because of this difference in ages, the elderly Issei who survive today are apt to be women (Kalish & Moriwaki, 1973). There were virtually no unmarried Issei women, and those Issei men who remained bachelors appear to have the greatest problems of adjustment among this aging ethnic group (Kitano, 1976).

Traditionally, old people in Japan have held a respected position within the community and the family. They were sought out for guidance and wisdom, and ideally aging parents would live with their oldest son and his wife. Among the poor of Japan, the labor of the elderly was often necessary for the maintenance of the family, and those who were physically unfit for more strenuous duties were still able to mend tools, sew, and care for the grandchildren. Thus the elderly Japanese had a strong sense of being needed. Even after death they maintained a function within the family by being a source of emotional security (Plath, 1964a).

In the United States, of course, the Issei grow old and face death in an entirely different environment. Here

the prestige of the elderly is not nearly so great as in traditional Japan (Kitano & Sue, 1973). Even so, Kiefer (1974c) sees the Issei, for the most part, enjoying a healthy and comfortable old age. This conclusion is based on an analysis of four factors.

(1) Companionship. Because the Issei constitute such a small, homogeneous group, they have many opportunities for social contact with each other. The language barrier prohibits them from much social intercourse with the Anglo community, and because of traditional Japanese reserve they do not make friends easily. Nevertheless, their own tightly-knit group provides a satisfying social context and appears to meet their needs.

(2) Authority and autonomy. Traditionally, dependent Japanese elders are not considered subordinate to their children, but are simply being repayed for their life's work. This outlook has changed somewhat in the United States, particularly since many Issei fathers were forced to forfeit their positions of authority prematurely due to World War II relocation. Placed in camps in the interior of the country, they lost businesses and property and faced added insult when governmental authorities would deal only

with their children, the native-born Nisei. After the war, many Issei were too old to start over, and some could survive only by working with or for their children. Nevertheless, the traditional Japanese family unit was strong enough in most instances to survive such trauma, and today most Issei see themselves as more autonomous than their children see them.

(3) Productivity. In Japanese culture, the worth of the individual is measured by what he contributes to the group (Plath, 1964b), and as we have seen, the elderly Japanese continue to feel needed and worthwhile members of the family even after death. Even those who cannot work in later years can feel productive in a spiritual and philosophical sense by their very presence.

(4) Acceptance of death. Likewise, the belief that one's life is but part of a larger thread may account for the philosophical acceptance of death which is typical of the Issei. The Japanese traditionally view death as an inevitable, natural event. One who loves nature does not fear it; thus he does not fear death.

Hendricks and Hendricks (1977) have described those aged who are poor and also members of racial or ethnic

minorities as being in triple jeopardy. This description would seem to indicate that such people have three strikes against them. Is this in fact the case with aging Japanese Americans, or do the Issei themselves view their condition in a different light?

Being a member of a minority may even be an advantage for the elderly (Kiefer, 1974c). The Issei, who are few in number and live near each other,have no sense of anonymity which the majority of elderly may feel. They have a unique identity, and while they may be an invisible minority as far as the rest of society is concerned, within their own tightly-knit community they know each other well. In spite of the hardships and prejudice they have faced in this country, most Issei are glad they came (Kitano, 1976).

On the other hand, those with problems are not as apt to admit to that fact as others might be, and being wary of governmental authorities they do not seek help until the situation is desperate (Kalish & Moriwaki, 1973). In an effort to shed some light on these important questions, we turn now to an examination of the findings from our national sample of Japanese Americans.

Findings

Demographic Characteristics. Our sample of 1,002 Issei includes 66% men and 34% women, whose median age is 76 and 71 years respectively. The Issei's median number of school years completed in Japan is approximately 8 years. One-quarter (26%) of the Issei live with their spouse, another 58% live with their spouse and/or other family members, whereas only one in seven live entirely alone and fewer than 2% live with people who are not relatives. The Issei's living arrangements suggest the opportunity for the existence of a close network of family support systems.

The Issei were asked what difficulties they still face since their arrival in the United States. Nearly a majority (46%) state that they face no difficulties. One-third of the Issei report that the English language has proven to be the greatest difficulty. Remarkably, less than 1% of the Issei report that they currently experience loneliness.

In order to determine the potential for the presence of a strong family support system, we asked the Issei

to report the number of relatives living in the United States. We find that our typical respondent has nearly five relatives residing here, and four in ten of our respondents report that they have one or more siblings in this country. This would appear to represent an excellent opportunity for the continuation of strong bonds of kinship for these Issei. On the other hand, one in three Issei have only one relative currently living in the United States, and a plurality (43%) have no relatives in this country.

In order to determine the extent to which the Issei feel they have achieved their goals in life, we asked our respondents: "Have you achieved the place in life that you wanted for yourself and your family?" Three in four Issei report that they have in fact achieved their goals. When asked what factors had contributed to their success, three-quarters of the Issei report that diligence, hard work, honesty, and thrift were responsible. Other reasons which contributed to the Issei's success (in order of frequency) include health, good luck, and shrewdness.

In order to determine how the Issei are faring economically, we asked if they were financially dependent upon

their children for support. Six in ten of our respondents report that they are completely financially independent of their offspring. In contrast, almost one in five report that they receive over one-half of their financial support from their children.

Following this brief demographic sketch of the Issei, we turn now to an examination of a series of indicators of the Issei's social participation: visiting patterns with friends and relatives, interest in political affairs, and membership in voluntary associations. These findings will help us to determine whether in fact there is a differential level of social participation by age, as stated in Cumming and Henry's (1961) thesis of social disengagement.

Issei Visiting Patterns

Table 1 reports upon the relationship between age, sex, and social participation as measured by the Issei's visiting pattern with other Issei, Nisei, and Caucasian friends, and with their own children.

Visiting with Other Issei. Table 1 reports that age is inversely related to frequency of visiting with Issei

friends. That is, the oldest Issei (81 years or older) are less likely to visit their Issei friends than are their youngest counterparts (60-65 years of age). Regardless of sex approximately six in ten of the youngest Issei visit other Issei friends at least once a month. As age advances, the frequency of visiting drops fairly systematically for both men and women.

There are at least two tentative explanations for this relationship. First, with advancing age the oldest Issei may simply not have the physical and psychological wherewithal to engage in social visiting. A second explanation suggests that the older the Issei, the greater the possibility that more of his cohorts have died. The findings which follow may shed some light on which of the two explanations is more accurate.

Visiting with Nisei Friends. We next report upon the relationship between the Issei's age and visiting patterns with Nisei friends. The results show the same general pattern of decreasing frequency of visiting with advancing age. In this relationship, however, there is a difference by sex. Approximately one-half of the youngest men (60-65) visit Nisei at least once a month, whereas

only one-third of the youngest women visit that frequently. This difference by sex persists even through the oldest cohort of Issei where frequency of visiting decreases to one in four of the men and fewer than one in five of the women. Thus this finding that frequency of visiting Nisei friends as well as Issei friends declines with age tends to support our second explanation offered above. That is, it appears that shrinking numbers of fellow Issei to visit is not as important a factor as the Issei's decline in physical and psychological wherewithal to engage in social visiting that comes with advancing years.

Visiting with Caucasian Friends.[1] We found two general patterns when we asked our Issei respondents how frequently they visit with Caucasian friends. First, we found that for men visiting with Caucasians is inversely related to age, whereas the findings for the women reveal no systematic relationship with age. Secondly, regardless of age women visit Caucasians less frequently than their male counterparts. For the youngest Issei cohort (60-65) one-half of the men and one-third of the women visit Caucasians in their homes. For the oldest cohort (age 81 and over) this pattern of visiting declines to approximately

four in ten of the men, whereas the visiting rate for the women remains unchanged.

Visiting with Children. We next asked the Issei how frequently they visit their children. Regardless of age the data reported in Table 1 reveal that approximately two-thirds of the Issei visit their offspring at least once a month. Interestingly, we also find no difference in visiting patterns by sex, whereas for our other indicators of visiting (with Issei, Nisei, and Caucasian friends) we found a consistently lower rate of visiting by Issei women.

Insert Table 1 here.

Issei Interest in Japanese, International, and American Political Affairs.

Moving from the realm of intimate visiting patterns with friends and relatives, we turn to another area of social participation; that is, the Issei's interest in contemporary political affairs in Japan, the world at large, and the United States in particular.

Interest in Japanese Politics. In order to examine the relationship between age, sex, and social participation we asked the Issei if they are currently interested in Japanese politics. Approximately four in ten of the youngest men and only one in four of the youngest women report that they are in fact interested in Japanese political affairs. The Issei's interest in Japanese politics declines with age until only one in four of the men and only one in ten of the women (age 81 and over) indicate an interest in Japanese politics. Thus age is inversely related to interest in Japanese affairs. Moreover, controlling for age, women consistently report less interest than men in Japanese politics.

Interest in International Politics. Perhaps a better and less culture-bound indicator of the Issei's interest in politics is our question regarding their interest in international political affairs. Nearly a majority (48%) of the youngest men as compared with only one-quarter of the youngest women express an interest in international politics. This reported lower level of interest in international politics by sex persists through the oldest Issei cohort. Only one in three of the oldest Issei males and one in ten of the women express an interest in international

political affairs. This finding that age is inversely related to interest in international politics is consistent with our finding regarding the Issei's interest in Japanese political affairs. Here too, the women consistently report a lower level of interest in international affairs than do their male counterparts.

Interest in American Politics.[2] We next asked our respondents to indicate the extent of their interest in American politics. Approximately six in ten of the youngest Issei men and four in ten of their female peers report an interest in American politics. Here again we find that age is inversely related to interest in political affairs. A majority (50%) of the oldest men express an interest in American politics, whereas only one in five of the oldest Issei women express such an interest. In any given cohort, fewer Issei women express an interest in American politics than do their male counterparts.

Voting Behavior. Finally, we asked our Issei respondents if they voted in either the 1960 or the 1964 national elections. We find that regardless of age or sex, almost nine in ten of the Issei report that they voted in one or both of the national elections. It is interesting to compare these findings to those reported earlier regarding

interest in American politics. Those data indicate that age is inversely related to an interest in politics, and yet our voting data reveal that actual participation is unaffected by either age or sex.[3]

Insert Table 2 here.

Community and Organizational Participation.

Table 3 reports upon the relationship between age, sex, and social participation as measured by the Issei's neighborhood friendship patterns, frequency of religious attendance, and membership in voluntary associations.

Neighborhood Friendships. In order to determine the extent to which our Issei respondents are immersed in their neighborhood, we asked the Issei: Of all your friends, what percentage live in your immediate neighborhood? Regardless of sex, four in ten of the youngest Issei (age 60-65) report that a majority (50%) of their friends live in the immediate confines of their neighborhood. Among the oldest Issei this figure declines to one in three. In brief, age is inversely related to the percentage of friends in the Issei's neighborhood. Controlling

for age, women report fewer neighborhood friendships than men.

These findings are consistent with those reported in Table 1 which reveal that frequency of visiting declines with age. This decline in visiting may be explained by the fact that our oldest cohort of Issei report that they have fewer friends residing in their immediate neighborhood (Table 3), thus making visiting more difficult. On the other hand, the finding that approximately six in ten of the Issei navigate in larger waters--that is, that they have friends outside their immediate neighborhood--has implications for the degree of social integration of the Issei. Thus, while frequency of visiting may depend upon physical proximity, actual friendships do not.

Religious Attendance. When we asked our respondents how frequently they attend religious services, we find a somewhat inconsistent pattern. Approximately one in three of the men and four in ten of the women in the two youngest cohorts (60-65, and 66-70) attend frequently (twice monthly or more). Regardless of sex, the frequency of religious attendance increases to a majority in the

next cohort (aged 71-75), and then decreases again to four in ten of both men and women in the oldest cohort (aged 81 and over). In general we do find a consistently higher level of religious attendance for Issei women of all ages than for their male counterparts.

It is interesting to note that data reported earlier (Table 1) reveal that on every indicator of frequency of visiting with Japanese and Caucasian friends, the women visit less frequently than the men. Yet in an institutionalized setting of organized religion the women consistently attend religious services more frequently. One possible explanation for this finding may be that the Issei's parents may have differentially socialized their sons and daughters regarding the importance of religion. Also, the men may have been encouraged either by socialization or necessity to navigate in wider occupational and social waters.

Organizational Memberships. For our final indicator of social participation, we asked the Issei if they currently belong to an organization. Four in ten of the youngest Issei men and only one in seven of the youngest women report that they are currently a member of a voluntary

association. This level of membership declines fairly systematically with age. The oldest Issei cohort, for example, reports that only one in five of the men and none of the women belong to an organization. Regardless of age, women report a lower rate of membership in organizations than men. Because organizational associations are often related to one's occupation, and because fewer Issei women were employed outside the home than Issei men, it is not too surprising that the women belong to fewer organizations.

Insert Table 3 here.

Summary and Conclusions

The intent of this paper has been to examine Cumming and Henry's (1961) social disengagement hypothesis as it applies to one generation of Japanese Americans, the Issei. Employing data from a national sample of Japanese Americans, we examine a series of indicators of the Issei's social participation.

We divide our indicators of social participation into three analytical categories: visiting patterns with friends and relatives, interest in political affairs, and participation in voluntary associations. The findings suggest that the most general pattern is that age is inversely related to social participation. However, within this general pattern we find several important exceptions. Regarding visiting patterns, on the one hand we find that the Issei's frequency of visiting with Issei, Nisei, and Caucasian friends is inversely related to age and is lower for women than for men. On the other hand, the frequency of the Issei's visiting with their own Nisei children is unrelated to age or sex.

On the matter of interest in Japanese, international, and American political affairs, the findings indicate that age is again inversely related to such an interest. Moreover, women consistently report less interest in politics than the men. In contrast, voting participation shows no difference by age and no consistent pattern by sex.

Regarding Issei participation in community and organizational affairs, the data reveal a particularly inconsistent pattern. Age is inversely related to percentage of friends residing in the Issei's immediate neighborhood.

On the other hand, the Issei's church attandance generally increases with age and is consistently higher among women than men.

On the matter of organizational affiliation, the data reveal that age is again inversely related to membership. Moreover, membership in voluntary associations is consistently lower for the women regardless of age.

Thus we find partial support for the social disengagement thesis which suggests that social participation decreases with age. This is in contrast to Kiefer (1974c) who seems to see little evidence of such disengagement among the Issei. Kiefer (1974c) argues that the Issei retain close ties with friends and family, although perhaps not with the larger American community, and remain socially active within their ethnic group. Our findings indicate that age is inversely related to social participation, as measured by frequency of visiting with friends and relatives, interest in political affairs, and participation in community and organizational activities. We find one notable exception to this general pattern which is of theoretical interest: that is, visiting with the Issei's children did not decline with age.

These findings are somewhat encouraging in a sociological sense, since although they do suggest disengagement from social and organizational ties with increasing age, we also find evidence of the existence of a network of strong family support systems which after all are equally if not more important than social intercourse with friends and organizations. In this very important sense we have learned something new about the exact parameters of the disengagement thesis, as it applies to elderly Japanese Americans. That is, while we find partial support for the thesis, disengagement does not occur in at least one important social realm: visiting with the Issei's offspring.

Systematic empirical social research on the disengagement thesis has been largely ignored in the study of racial and cultural minorities. This may in part be attributed to the difficulty in studying racial and cultural minorities (Montero & Levine, 1977), as well as the difficulties in adequately measuring social participation variables. The importance of examining theoretical concepts such as the disengagement thesis using comparative data collected from racial and cultural minorities is an important research agenda.

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Footnotes

1. For visiting with Caucasians, we dichotomized visiting into "ever visit" and "never visit" in order to maximize cell frequencies, because so few Issei ever visited Caucasians regularly. For visiting Issei and Nisei friends and Issei's children the cutting point was once a month or more often.

2. Consistent with the work of Sudman & Bradburn (1974) and Montero (in press), it is important to note that questions such as those regarding interest in American politics are likely to be affected by a social desirability response effect.

3. See Footnote No. 2.

Table 1

Issei Visiting Patterns with Friends and Relatives by Age and Sex

	Percentage of Issei Who Visit Frequently[a]							
	Issei		Nisei		Caucasian		Children	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age								
60-65	62	59	48	34	50	34	68	66
(N)	(82)	(37)	(63)	(21)	(64)	(21)	(32)	(18)
66-70	61	49	35	31	44	43	76	78
(N)	(65)	(54)	(36)	(34)	(46)	(47)	(35)	(29)
71-75	58	54	28	25	56	38	70	73
(N)	(50)	(51)	(24)	(24)	(48)	(34)	(28)	(16)
76-80	54	52	31	27	42	20	64	71
(N)	(90)	(25)	(51)	(13)	(70)	(10)	(51)	(10)
81+	48	41	24	18	39	33	68	71
(N)	(76)	(9)	(38)	(4)	(61)	(8)	(39)	(5)

Note. Frequency of visiting with friends and relatives is employed as an indicator of Issei social participation.

[a]Frequent visiting is defined as monthly or more often for Issei, Nisei, and Children; for Caucasians frequent visiting is defined as one or more times annually.

[b]Male and female categories refer to the sex of the Issei respondent, and not to the sex of Issei's friends and relatives.

Table 2

Issei Interest in Political Affairs by Age and Sex

	Interest in Political Affairs (Percentages)							
	Japanese Politics		International Politics		American Politics		Voting Behavior[a]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age								
60-65	39	25	48	26	64	43	96	91
(N)	(52)	(16)	(63)	(16)	(85)	(27)	(54)	(19)
66-70	36	19	41	19	70	41	91	85
(N)	(39)	(21)	(43)	(21)	(74)	(46)	(49)	(33)
71-75	45	22	42	30	62	38	95	87
(N)	(39)	(20)	(36)	(27)	(53)	(35)	(40)	(27)
76-80	40	10	47	15	65	25	92	92
(N)	(68)	(5)	(79)	(7)	(109)	(12)	(76)	(11)
81+	27	9	36	9	50	18	91	100
(N)	(43)	(2)	(57)	(2)	(79)	(4)	(57)	(2)

[a]The Voting Behavior category represents the percentage of Issei who voted in the 1960 or 1964 national elections.

Table 3

Issei Community and Organizational Participation by Age and Sex

(Percentages)

Age	Neighborhood Friendships[a]		Religious Attendance[b]		Organizational Membership[c]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
60-65	41	39	31	40	42	14
(N)	(54)	(24)	(39)	(25)	(53)	(8)
66-70	42	28	28	42	29	10
(N)	(44)	(31)	(29)	(46)	(30)	(10)
71-75	37	36	51	54	27	6
(N)	(31)	(34)	(43)	(51)	(23)	(5)
76-80	27	31	46	58	16	9
(N)	(44)	(15)	(76)	(28)	(25)	(4)
81+	32	29	40	46	18	0
(N)	(50)	(6)	(61)	(10)	(27)	(0)

[a]Neighborhood Friendships refers to those respondents who report 50% or more friends living in the neighborhood.

[b]Religious Attendance is defined as twice monthly or more.

[c]Organizational Membership refers to membership in one or more voluntary associations.